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ABSTRACT

Within the past decade, attention in the Commonwealth Caribbean has focused on the implications of broadcasting for development policies. The relationship between Caribbean governments and the broadcast industry has generally been close and cordial as a result of the small size of the countries and the reality of government ownership of a large proportion of broadcasting. The most significant movements toward formulating coherent national policy on the role of the media have occurred in two countries that have adopted a socialist ideology--Guyana and Jamaica. Though there is a similarity between the governmental approaches to the broadcast media, there are some subtle but significant differences: (1) while the Jamaican approach expresses an unwillingness to dictate policy even to government-owned broadcasting services, the Guyana Broadcasting Service is unapologetically used as an arm of the government: and (2) whereas the broadcasting service in Guyana is a tool for national development emphasizing community participation, the media in Jamaica have an obligation to give voice to all currents of opinion in the society. The task of Caribbean communication researchers is to examine whether, despite its goals, the techniques and forms of development communication are such that they will create a stifling information environment. Caribbean researchers must also give attention to molding and modifying the development service communication concept to reflect third world and, particularly, Caribbean concepts of social development. (HOD)

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BROADCASTING FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PURPOSES IN THE COMMONWEALTH CARIBBEAN: A CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE

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BROADCASTING FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PURPOSES IN THE COMMONWEALTH CARIBBEAN

INTRODUCTION

> "...The nature of the communications system is seen to set clear constraints on the character of the political system and on the prospects for its development."
>
> -Frederick W. Frey[1]

From the early years of radio and television there has been much debate concerning the potential of the new media to contribute to major educational and cultural advances. Yet it is only within the past decade that attention in the Commonwealth Caribbean has focused on the implications of broadcasting for development policies.

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[1]Frederick W. Frey, "Communication and Development," in Handbook of Communication, edited by Ithiel de Sola Pool et al (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1973.

Over the last eight years several international and regional seminars have drawn attention to the potential of broadcasting for development and the difficulties involved. In 1972 a Caribbean Workshop on Communications and National Development was held in Georgetown, Guyana under the auspices of the United Nations Development Programmes. The workshop raised and tried to deal with a wide range of questions--"Should government own newspapers and broadcasting stations? How do we balance support for the government's development program with ... the right of citizens to criticize the government? How do we balance the incentives of private enter- prize and the inducements of advertising against the need of a society to encourage saving and long-range planning?"[2]

Participants of this workshop were primarily broadcast industry repre- sentatives and the answers to questions raised were often tentative. Yet the workshop resulted in a significant degree of regional concen- sus on these basic development communications issues.

In 1974 the International Broadcast Institute sponsored two major seminars on communication for development. The

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[2]Caribbean Workshop in Communications and Development, What is Communication for Development, (Georgetown, Guyana: Published under the auspicies of the United Nations Development Programmes, 1973), p. 1.

first, "Motiva- tion, information and Communication for Development in Africa and Asia," was held in Ibadan, Nigeria.[3] The second, "Communications and Information for Development Purposes in the Caribbean Area," in Georgetown, Guyana.[4] These conferences emphasized the concept of "Development Support Communication" (DSC), a concept advanced largely through the work of the United Nations Development Programme. The Georgetown Seminar not only discussed the importance of Development Support Comunication for Caribbean countries, but went a long way in drawing out the implications of DSC for various aspects of national communication policies. The recommendations of the Seminar in this area will be the topic of the first chapter.

In 1977 there were two other conferences of relevance to Caribbean broadcasting and development. The first was a seminar on Broadcasting for National Development, organized by the Institute of Development Studies at Sheffield University, England.[5] The other was a conference on Educational Broadcasting in the Commonwealth Caribbean, held in King-

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[3]International Broadcast Institute, Motivation Information and Communication for Development in Africa and Asia, Ibadan, Nigeria, 1974 (will refer to as "Ibadan Seminar").

[4]International Broadcast Institute, Communication and Information for Development Purposes in the Caribbean Area, Georgetown, Guyana, Dec. 1974 (will refer to as "Georgetown Seminar").

[5]James Neville, "Broadcasting of National Development," Combroad (Oct.- Dec., 1977): No.37, p.46.

ston, Jamaica and co-sponsored by the University of the West Indies Institute of Mass Communication, the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, the Caribbean Community Secretariat and the Ministry of Education, Jamaica.[6] The reports of the Jamaica Conference and their recommendations for the use of regional broadcast resources for developmental goals feature in the latter part of this paper.

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[6]Report on Regional Conference on Educational Broadcasting in the Commonwealth Caribbean, Kingston, Jamaica, p.1 (Available form the University of the West Indies Institute of Mass Communicati).

BROADCASTING IN THE CARIBBEAN

AND THE CONCEPT OF NATIONAL COMMUNICATION POLICIES

> So many difficulties beset the poor nations, the Afro- Asian-Latin-American "have-nots," that it may seem brutal to suggest still another problem they have yet to face up to. It is not a secondary issue, though, since it con- cerns the very purpose of national development as well as the destinies of scores of states. What is involved is the cultural integrity of weak societies whose national, regional, local or tribal heritages are beginning to be menaced with extinction by the expansion of modern electronic communications, television in particular, emanating from a few power centers in the industrialized world.
>
> -Herbert J. Schiller[7]

It has been, in part, as a result of general alarm at the increasingly pervasive and counter-productive influence of what Schiller refers to as "modern electronic policies" that the formulation of national communications policies by developing nations has become a matter of earnest.

In the 1972 Workshop in Communications and Development the question was raised: "Do media patterns of the developed countries really serve the needs of the Caribbean?" The answer was a clear no.[8]

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[7]Herbert I. Schiller, Mass Communications and the American Empire (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), p.117.

[8]Caribbean Workshop, p.1.

William Demas, Secretary-General of the Caribbean Community Secretariat pointed out the incongruity between the emphases in imported broadcast content and the needs and priorities in the Caribbean:

> "Instead of West Indian peoples being influenced to imitate the hard work, pushing entrepreneurship and thrift of North America and Western Europe when they were building up their economies centuries ago, they are now being influenced to imitate the consumption habits of countries that have already developed their productive potential."[9]

The realization that the programming objectives in most of the available broadcast materials did not coincide with developmental goals stimulated the formation of national policy guidelines to moderate the social effects of radio and television. These guidelines generally had to do with such matters as reducing the percentage of foreign programing, advertising practices and the promotion of local talent. Yet an even more important factor influencing the formation of national policy for the media was the growing awareness of the need to use all channels of communication in a national develop- ment program.

The 1974 Georgetown Seminar focused on this issue of commun- ication for developmental purposes. Particular atten-

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[9]Ibid, p. 23.

tion was paid to the then evolving concept of Developmental Support Communication. The Committee report defined DSC as,

> "The systematic use of communication techniques for the planning, decision-making and execution process of development programmes, in order to ensure, at all stages, participation by all relevant groups of people and the success of the developmental objectives."[10]

The committee noted that DSC must be based on the understanding of social, cultural, motivational factors within the particular community. It included the educational system and literacy workers as channels of Development Support Communication. The Committee, however, focused on the need for individual governments to formulate develop- ment support policy for the whole communications media. It stated that it was "convinced that the whole communication network had an important role to play in support of development," and that it was "the responsibility of goverment to ensure their integration of the mass media and other communications channels in the total development effort."[11]

The committee stated that such a national communication policy would have three aims:[12]

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[10]Georgetown Seminar, p. 49.

[11]Ibid, p.50.

[12]Ibid.

(1) Preventing contradictory messages by integrated planning;

(2) Establishing an investigatory system to ensure that the technological hardware will meet a country's developmental needs;

(3) Providing a framework for a rational allocation of resources for development of the mass media infrastructure and the conduct of a development support communication program.

The Georgetown Seminar also recommended the formation of a national body (e.g., a National Communication Council) to supervise the implementation of national communications policy. Such a body should include, the committee wrote, representatives of the govern- ment ministries involved, Development Support Communications experts, the management of the print and electronic media and representatives of citizens or community groups. The body would be chaired by a Cabinet Minister.[13]

Another recommendation of the Committee was that "the media should be nationally owned, that is to say, foreign ownership is unacceptable."[14]

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[13]Ibid, p. 51.

[14]Ibid, p. 152.

The conclusions of the Georgetown Seminar has undoubtedly had a significant impact on the direction of broadasting in the Common- wealth Caribbean. Though the Seminar mainly reasserted and developed perspectives which had already come to the fore within the Caribbean Community, it also resulted in the crystalization of a concensus within the Caribbean on the need for cooperation between government and the mass communications industry (broadcasting in particular) in the inte- gration of programming policy within the framework of the national development goals.

GOVERNMENTAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE ROLE OF BROADCASTING IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON GUYANA AND JAMAICA

The relationship between Caribbean governments and the broadcast industry has generally been close and cordial.[15] There are two reasons for this. The first is the smallness of the countries. Jamaica is the largest island and its population is only two million. The other islands have populations of less than a million. Guyana, the only continental country considered a part of the Commonwealth Caribbean, has only three-quater million people. The smallness of the countries has made for a history of close relationships between the national government and all important sectors of society. On many islands there is a heavy reliance on government services. It is common for broadcast station managers to have personal acquaintance with Cabinet Ministers and heads of government.

Another reason for the close ties between government and the broadcast industry is the reality of government ownership of a large proportion of broadcasting. In most coun-

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[15] John Lent, Press Controls in the West Indies, (In Freedom of Information Center Report No. 325, Issued by the School of Journalism, University of Missouri at Columbia, Aug., 1974) p. 2.

tries, if there are two broadcast companies the government will either own or have major interest in one. Bermuda excluded, all television stations are operated by government owned broadcasting companies.

Yet in spite of historically close ties with the broadcast media, governments have been very hesitant to intrude into the stations' operations lest they be accused of trying to manipulate the media. In recent years, however, several governments have tried to extend their relationship with the broadcast industry and to clarify the national policy on the role of broadcasting in society.

In Trinidad, for instance, the two government owned stations-- Trinidad and Tobago Television Company and the National Broadcasting Service (610 Radio)-- issued an editorial policy statement, the effect of which was to ban all socially disruptive elements from media access or coverage.[16] The policy came out in March of 1975 only months after the Georgetown Seminar.

In the Associated State of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, the Attorney-General has made it clear that freedom of expression only applies to the media in so far as the communication is "creative and constructive and essential to the development of the people."[17]

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[16]Trinidad & Tobago Television and National Broadcasting Service, "Editorial Policy," press release, March 24, 1975.

The most significant movements toward formulating coherent national policy on the role of the media has occurred in the two countries which have adopted, in some measure, the socialist ideology: Guyana and Jamaica.

GUYANA

> "All possible media channels of communication must be utilized to support the development process."
>
> -Ibadan Seminar, 1974

The Ibadan declaration above forms the core of the Guyanese position of the role of the media and of broadcasting in particular. The most detailed exposition of the government's position can be found in a paper by Christopher A. Nascimento, Minister of State in the Prime Minister's office.[18] Mr. Nascimento argues that a develop- ing country cannot leave matters such as ownership or media content to chance.[19]

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[17]Dorcas White, The Press and the Law in the Caribbean (Bridgetown, Barbados: The Cedar Press, 1975) p. 28.

[18]Christopher A. Nascimento, "The Transferability of the Concepts of Media Ownership and Freedom," in a paper presented to the Georgetown Seminar, p. 37.

[19]Marlene Cuthbert, "The Role of the Mass Media in National

Guyana's Prime Minister, Forbes Barnham has stated that,

> "The government has a right, as a final arbiter of things national, to formulate a policy for the media so that the media can play a much more important part than it has played in mobilizing the people of the country for the development of the country."[20]

At the same time, it is not the government's policy to use broad- casting as a channel for government propaganda. ~~There must be~~ In the words of the General Manager of the Guyana Broadcasting Service:

> "The people must no longer be broadcast 'to' or written 'to.' The broadcasters and journalists have to go out into the fields, the farms and the streets---- articles and programmes must be a reflection of the people's views and attitudes. The media has to become a meeting point for leaders and the community."[21]

In the view of Mr. Nascimento, the circumstances of a developing country not only argues against foreign ownership and control of the media, but they make it necessary that national private ownership only be given to those who can demonstrate their ability to provide "programme standards sufficient to meet the task of the media as a developmental agency."[22]

Development; Governmental Perspectives in Jamaica and Guyana," Caribbean Quarterly: Vol. 23, No. 4., Dec. 1977.

[20]The Hon. Forbes Burnham, in speech at the Georgetown Seminar.

[21]Ronald M. Sauders, "Toward a Communication Policy: Perspectives of a Guyana Experience," (unpublished paper), p. 14.

[22]Nacimento, Georgetowm Seminar, p.37.

An outworking of the the Guyanese policy has been the refusal, so far, to grant a television license. The government is waiting until such a time as Guyana can obtain and/or produce and adequate amount of programming material relevant to the society.

JAMAICA

> The only interest that is not always well articulated, aggregated and communicated in our system is the public interest. And I am well aware that frequently enough, because we stand in different places and operate in different contexts, the media-- or sections of it-- will disagree with me on what is the national interest.
>
> What is important is not that their concept of the national interest should be the same as mine, but that they should have a concept, and that it should be the overriding principle on which their work is founded.
>
> The communications media would then become instruments for identifying issues that need attention in our society, articulating genuine social concerns-- particularly of the underprivileged in society-- aggregating claims on decision-making and feeding back the demand for executive action. This would turn the communications process upside down so that it becomes participatory at all levels; an executive action would become responsive rather than initiative.
>
> - Prime Minister Michael Manley
> Jamaica, July 1973.

This statement by the Jamaican Prime Minister epitomizes the governments view of the role of the broadcast and print media. Prime Minister Manley's first book, The Politics of Change, provides the philosophical framework for his com-

ments on the role of the media. In his book Manley notes that with modern electronic communication "man now has at his disposal instruments of enormous power for good or evil in the field of ideas and access to the processes by which opinions and attitudes are formed."[23] Because of the danger of the media being used for totalitarian purposes Manley insists that there should be a clear distinction between the use of the media by those elected to power and the independent role of the media itself within the political process. Manley outlines two principles which should guide government--media cooperation for development purposes:

(1) ". . . governments should not use their power to secure the use of the media in the exclusive interest of the political party upon which the government itself rests . . ."

(2) ". . . it is the duty of a government to enlist the full range of media technique in the support of policies and as an instrument in the development of the new attitudes which may be necessary for the success of the policies themselves."[24]

To put these policies into practice the Manley government has put a lot of money into expanding various information agencies of the government into radio and television production centers independent and distinct from the broadcasting stations. These agencies, The Agency for Public Information (API), the Educational Broadcasting Service and the Jamaica

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[23]Michael Manley, The Politics of Change: A Jamaican Testament (Washington, D.C., Howard University Press, 1975) p. 211.

[24]Ibid, p. 212.

Adult Literacy Organization, generally, have produced material of a non-partisan nature. Moreover programs produced by these agencies are broadcast only in time slots officially set aside for government programs.

At the same time the government has made it clear that foreign ownership of the media is incompatible with the national interest. In an interview with ken gordon of The Trinidad Express the Prime Minister said:

> "Freedom of the press does not mean another country's freedom within my country. It means the citizens of my country having freedom within their own country. We do not believe freedom of the press is an international phenomenon where ownership is concerned."[25]

In september 1977 the government bought Jamaica's commercial radio station, Radio Jamaica, from Rediffusion of England which had owned 70% share in the station.[26] The government at that time appointed a committee to expedite the transfer of the ownership of the station to community organizations and did not request any internal changes in its organization.[27]

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[25] Interview by Ken Gordon of The Trinidad Express, September 24, 1975. Jamaica House, (xeroxed), p. 7.

[26] Telephone interview with a spokesman for the office of the Prime Minister, Government House, Kingston, Jamaica, April 17, 1978.

[27] Telephone interview with lester Spaulding, Managing Director of Radio Jamaica, Broadcasting House, Kingston, Jamaica, April 17, 1978.

In November of last year the cabinet approved a divestment plan proposed by the committee and it is currently being carried out. Under the plan 50% of the station shares are being sold to community organizaitions and 25% to the radio station employees. The government retains 25% of the shares and with them the right to appoint two of the twelve members of the board of directors and the Managing Director[28] Though there is still potential for government control, it would appear that in this case the government is at pains not to overstep what Prime Minister Manley has described as "the dividing line between the right of the press to its freedom as one of the main instruments by which a free society protects itself against totalitarian encroachments, and the claims of social responsibility[29]

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE JAMAICAN AND THE GUYANESE APPROACHES

Though there is a basic similarity between the government approaches to the broadcast media in Guyana and Jamaica, there are some subtle but significant differences worthy of note.

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[28]Inside RJR, Dec., 1979- Feb., 1980. Vol.1. No.1.

[29]Manley, Politics of Change, p. 213.

It is of significance that Jamaica's Prime Minister Manley states that "what is important is not that their (media professionals) concept of the national interest is the same as mine."[30] What is insisted on is that broadcasters should have some concept of the national interest, and "that it should be the overriding principle on which their work is founded."[31] This general unwillingness to dictate policy even to government owned broadcasting services is a distinctive feature of the Jamaican approach. Despite a growing tendency of the API, and indeed the Jamaican Broadcasting Corporation as a whole, toward partisanship, the government has tried to keep some distance between itself and the organized media. The Prime Minister, himself a former journalist, has insisted that the freedom of the media form government manipulation is essential if the democratic process is to be preserved.[32]

This aversion to government control of broadcasting is not shared by policy makers in Guyana. Indeed the goverment owned Guyana Broadcasting Service is unapologetically used as as an arm of the government. A paper by the Broadcasting Adviser to the Ministry of Education, Social Development and Culture, Celeste Dolphin, gives some insight into the degree

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[30]Caribbean Workshop, p. 1

[31]ibid.

[32]Manley, Politics of Change, p. 213.

of involvement of the government in broadcast content. In the paper on "Approaches and Techniques for Educational Radio" he advises radio producers that,

> "Programs dealing with government issues should include panel discussions where a member ot the public-- an angry parent or an offended consumer-- can take part in the program and air his views, comments and criticisms freely. At the same time on the same programme, however, it is a good technique to "plant" someone who would put over simply and frankly the government's point of view."[33] (Emphasis added)

One may ask the question: why allow criticism in the first place? In the same context the Broadcasting Adviser answers: "Much emotional satisfaction is given to the general public if on a panel discussion, the government is freely criticised. Justice must seem to be done."[34]

Marlene Cuthbert, communictions lecturer at the University of the West Indies, points out that

> "while Guyana's policy has resulted in extensive government control of the media, the policy projected by Manley aims not to control the media but to allow the press to be a 'multi-directional channel of communication' by providing access to the media for groups which did not traditionally have it."[35]

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[33]Celeste Dolphin, Approaches and Techniques for Educational Radio (xeroxed), p. 7.

[34]Ibid.

Cuthbert, using the Shiebert, Peterson and Schramm categories has proposed models which express the media roles in the two countries.[36] The Guyanese "development model" was, in part, first suggested by the General Manager of the Guyana Broadcasting Service. This is presented first:

The Developmental Model

Chief Purpose:	To contribute to the economic and social advance of the nation by the communication of development messages and the promotion of community-participation in the development objectives.
Right of use:	Everyone with something to say which is within the permitted limits (see 'What forbidden').
Media Control:	Government and opinion.
What Forbidden:	Serious invasion of recognized private rights and destructive interference in the social and economic progress of the nation.
Ownership:	Public
Difference from Others:	Media are to be a tool for national development.

Cuthbert suggests that the Jamaican view of the role of the media could be described as participatory and has proposed a "participatory model."

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[35]Cuthbert, Governmental Perspectives.

[36]Ibid.

The Participatory Model

Chief Purpose:	To be a multi-directional channel of communication in the public interest. Educating, informing and providing feedback.
Right of Use:	Everyone who has something to say.
Media Control:	Community opinion.
What Forbidden:	To commit libel or threaten public defence or public safety.
Ownership:	Private and public. Public includes both ownership by the government and "People Ownership."
Difference from Others:	Media have an obligation to give voice to all currents of opinion in the society; if existing media do not, the government must see that new channels are provided.

It is not here suggested that these models reflect, in detail, the practice in these countries. There are policy makers in Guyana who put major emphasis on the media's role as a voice of the people rather than the government, and in Jamaica there is an ongoing controversy over censorship of opposition party views in the JBC. However, these general models do represent important policy distinctives.

The process of formulating a set of norms which adequately define the role of broadcasting in national development has just begun in most Commonwealth Caribbean countries. Though the governments of Guyana and Jamaica have

developed fairly extensive statements of policy it is not yet clear to what extent these policies will be implemented.

AGENDA FOR RESEARCH

The relative novelty of applications of the broadcast media to development objectives inevitably makes for numerous unanswered questions. The media are being called on to play an altogether different role than they have in the industrialized countries where they emerged. What part the electronic media can play in development, to a large degree, still remains to be determined.

In 1978 Unesco, in colaboration with the Institute of Mass Communication of the University of the West Indies sponsored a Regional Consultation on Communication Research in the Caribbean.[37] The following research agenda emerges in part from the recommendations of that meeting and in part from ~~the~~ our review of developments in the region during the past decade.

Development Support Communication

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[37] Unesco, Final Report, Consultation on Communication Research in the Caribbean, 1978.

In the area of development support communication (DSC), as formally concieved, the immediate task for research is to carry out careful evaluations of those DSC projects now being carried out in the region.[38] Evaluation must be concerned with both processes and outcomes and should attempt to reach conclusions which are generalizable to the region as a whole.

Apart from studies centered on specific projects it is important to carry out broad examinations of the relations between the varying social and political structures in the Caribbean and development support communication variables. Questions such as, "How does acceptance of DSC messages vary with political views?", "How does the institutional base of DSC agencies affect credibility?" must be answered. If research is to make any contribution to social policy in this area, it is critical that studies are carried out while DSC programs and policies are still in early stages of implementation.

From another perspective, researchers could carry out a critical examination of the DSC concept itself, as promulgated by UNDP. Questions could be raised regarding the continued modelling of the concept under the constrictions

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[38]The DSC facets of the Upper Mazaruni Hydroelectric Project in Guyana, and the AG-Radio component of the Integrated Rural Development Project in Jamaica.

of the widely criticized view of development as objective, quantifiable, increments.[39]

DSC promoters have given disproportionate attention to developing DSC applications to specific projects rather than to broad social groups and to general social development objectives. Caribbean researchers must give attention to molding and modifying the DSC concept to reflect third world and, specifically, Caribbean concepts of social development.

Communication and Caribbean Cultural Identity

Though much has been written about the menance of cultural domination through imported broadcast content,[40] there has been no thorough analysis of the phenomenon in the Caribbean nor any careful studies of socio-cultural effects. As late as 1976, Everold Hosein, then Director of the Caribbean Institute of Mass Communications, argued that the cultural impact in the Caribbean of imported television was negligible.[41]

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[39]Luis Beltran, "Alien Premises, Objects, and Methods in Latin American Communication Research," and Everett Rogers, "Communication and Development: the Passing of the Dominant Paradigm," in Communication and Development: Critical Perspectives (London: Sage Publications, 1976).

[40]Herbert I. Schiller, Communication and Cultural Domination (White Plains, New York: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 1976).

Aggrey Brown, "The Mass Media of Communication and Socialist Change in the Caribbean: A Case Study of Jamaica," Caribbean Quarterly, V. 22, No. 4 (Dec., 1976): 43-49.

The issue of mass communication and cultural identity goes beyond the problem of imported content to all broadcast material. The 1978 Unesco report argued the need to examine "to what extent . . . these media enforce traditional attitudes and stereotypes which mitilate against attitudes needed for progress."[12]

Communication and Human Freedom

Much attention has been paid to the issues of the freedom of information and the right to communicate. These issues, however, are neither as fundamental nor as relevant to the subject of broadcasting for development as the broader issue of the effect of the electronic mass media on freedom of thought.

Communication for development is an intensely goal oriented form of communication. The greater the perceived need for social change the greater the need to harness the media to rally the masses to united action. The development communicator can be so concerned with the ultimate objec-

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[11]Everold Hosein, "The Problem of Imported Television Content in the Commonwealth Caribbean," Caribbean Quarterly, V. 22, No. 4 (Dec., 1976).

[12]Unesco, Communication research in the Caribbean.

tives that he will use whatever means necessary to get the people to cling irrationally to the desired process of action-- he will resort to propaganda. While reading some of the literature on development support communication being generated in the Caribbean,[13] one cannot help but wonder whether talk of "humanizing," "harmonizing" and "orienting" groups toward "the best progressive actions," does not reflect a greater concern with national goals that with individual self-determination. The communist block is often cited for their political propaganda; the West for its sociological propaganda. The third world may in the future be acclaimed for its development propaganda. Such would not necessarily be an unacceptable scenario. The task of Caribbean critical researchers is to examine whether, despite its goals, the techniques and forms of development communication, as it evolves in the region, are such as to create a stifling information environment. It may be that the environment created by certain forms of development propaganda is as stupifying to the mind and as deading to the heart as that created by advertizing and "public relations" in consumer nations.

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[13] Oliver Hunter, A report on DSC Action Segments for the Upper Mazaruni Hydroelectric Project "Package".

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